

Faces of Hatred

Contemporary Antisemitism in its
Historical Context



FAKULTA FILOZOFICKÁ
ZÁPADOČESKÉ
UNIVERZITY
V PLZNI

**Zbyněk Tarant,
Věra Tydlitátová et al.**

Recenzovali: Doc. ThDr. Sidonia Horňanová, PhD.
Mgr. Milan Hrabovský, PhD.

Faces of Hatred

© Zbyněk Tarant, Věra Tydlitátová, Michlean Amir, Ivo Budil, Lena-Arava Novotná, Pavel Hošek, Parush R. Parushev

Cover design: Zbyněk Tarant

Cover photograph: Zbyněk Tarant 2008 (mirror corridor at the Czech exposition in Auschwitz I.)

Spellcheck: Petra Johana Poncarová

Vydání publikace bylo podpořeno dotací z projektu studentské grantové soutěže: SVK1-2012-012

Contents

Foreword.....	3
1. Embodied Visions: On antisemitism and the resilience of goodness...7	
2. Jewish Views of Other Religions in Relation to Religious Antisemitism.....	45
3. Robert Knox, Transcendental Anatomy and Racialization of Jews....	59
4. From Specific Manifestations of Christian Anti-Judaism to the Present-Day (Difficult) Overcoming of the Past: The Case of Spain.....	83
5. From Philosemitism to Antisemitism – A Case Study of the ‘Mladá Pravice’ Movement in the Czech Republic.....	114
6. The Influence of Russian Anti-Semitism in the Czech Republic.....	153
7. Yizkor Books - An Introduction to A Unique Publication Genre.....	179
8. Interview with Michlean Löwy Amir.....	198
Abstrakt.....	213

5. From Philosemitism to Antisemitism – A Case Study of the ‘Mladá Pravice’ Movement in the Czech Republic

Zbyněk Tarant

Philosemitism is a form of allophilia. In other words, it is a love for an idealized Other. It is a so-called positive prejudice, or a belief that even though “the Others” – in our case, the Jews – are different from “us”, we “love” them exactly for that alleged distinction. While such a love may appear sympathetic and congenial at first glance, it must be kept within reasonable limits, as it can easily lead to a notion of some “superhuman Other” with nearly angelic qualities. Richard L. Rubenstein’s writings on the Holocaust theology are considered controversial today, but his comments on philosemitism have not lost their validity: *“In any event, philosemitism is as unrealistic and pernicious as antisemitism, for it destroys our most precious attribute, our simple humanity. To expect us to be more than the other men, to pay us the unwanted and un-asked for compliment of asserting that we are, is an unintended cruelty, but cruelty indeed.”*¹ Why is this attitude considered to be so cruel? It is because in the philosemite’s imagination, the prejudice about the Jews is still present. What changes is not the prejudice itself, but only the way in which it is interpreted.² For example, while the antisemite hates the Jews, because he thinks that “the Jews control the media”, the philosemite loves the

¹ Rubenstein, Richard L.; Koth, John R.: *Approaches to Auschwitz*, London: SCM Press 1987, p. 71.

² Compare: Goldhagen, Daniel J.: *Hittler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Vintage Books 1997, p. 57-59.

Jews precisely because “they are such successful journalists and writers”. Moreover, when the image of the “angelic Jew” is not fulfilled (as it can never be), disappointment comes instead. The prejudice remains, but it is readjusted and reverts to its original, negative meaning. The philosemite becomes an antisemite.

When asked about the nature of contemporary Czech-Jewish relationships, I use to quote some of the paradoxical results of a series of reports concerning the attitudes of Czechs to other ethnic, religious and social groups, published by the public opinion survey agency STEM. One has to understand these results in context and bear them in mind when trying to comprehend contemporary Czech antisemitism. In the latest survey from November 2011, for example, the respondents were presented with this question: *“Imagine that a member of one of the following groups would become your neighbour. How would you cope with that?”* The most positive answers were traditionally given about the Slovaks – about 88% would have *“no problem at all”* to accept a Slovak as their neighbour. Right after Slovaks, the most positive attitudes were expressed towards Western European nationals (Germans, the British, the French, ...), with attitudes to Germans significantly improving from the early 90s’ negative views³ until today’s very positive ones. The Jews were ranked right after the Western European nationals. While 88% of Czechs would accept Slovaks and 71% would accept Germans, 67% would accept Jews with *“no problem at all”*. The attitudes towards Jews were mostly positive - in stark contrast to the three least popular groups: Arabs (23%), Chechens (21%) and Roma (14%) at the very

³ In 1994, only 36% of the respondents would accept Germans as their neighbours. More than 71% expressed the same opinion in 2011. STEM: “Zmapování postojů veřejnosti v ČR k pravicově extremistickým, rasistickým a xenofobním myšlenkám a jejich šifitelům s ohledem na integraci menšin a cizinců” [online], [date of quotation 22 August 2012], available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/soubor/zaverecna-zprava-z-vyzkumu.aspx>

end of the scale.⁴ According to these surveys, each having about 1,200 respondents, the real “pariahs” of the Czech society are Arabs, Chechens and Roma, while the mainstream attitudes towards the Jews are positive. In another survey, carried out for the purpose of anti-extremism strategies planned by the Czech government, the agency attempted to ask the people not only about their attitudes to various national, ethnic, religious and social groups, but they also included a question whether the respondents had any real experience with any members of the groups listed. The survey revealed that 51% of the respondents have direct, daily experience of the Slovaks, 29% of the Roma, but only 9% have such a day-to-day experience of the Jews.⁵ By combining the answers about the attitudes with the responses concerning the amount of such experience and visualizing them by means of a 2D grid, the agency arrives at the conclusion that while there is a prevalent “negative experience” of the Roma, “positive experience” of the Slovaks and Germans and “negative prejudices” about the Arabs and Muslims, the attitudes toward the Jews are mostly neutral with some traits of “positive prejudices”, i.e. philosemitism. In their conclusion, authors of the survey suggest that the government should, for practical and tactical reasons, *“separate the expressions of anti-Gypsy attitudes (shared by the majority) from other expressions of racism, xenophobia and neo-Nazism (exhibited by a small minority of the population) and formulate the strategies for their solution separately.”*⁷

⁴ STEM: “Vztah Čechů k Romům je stále převážně odmítavý” in Informace z výzkumu STEM TRENDY 2008, 5. května 2011, [date of quotation 22 August 2012], available at: <http://www.stem.cz/clanek/2195>, 1, 286 respondents older than 18 years of age.

⁵ STEM: “Zmapování postojů veřejnosti v ČR k pravicově extremistickým, rasistickým a xenofobním myšlenkám a jejich šířitelům s ohledem na integraci menšin a cizinců”, p. 57 [online], [date of quotation 22 August 2012], available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/soubor/zaverecna-zprava-z-vyzkumu.aspx>.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., p. 50.

In this chapter, I am going to document the dialectical relationship between philosemitism and antisemitism on a specific example of a formerly philosemitic and neoconservative movement called *Mladá pravice* (The Young Right), focusing on some of its members. *The Young Right* was established in 2004 as a splinter group of a conservative youth discussion club of a small, non-parliamentary *Conservative Party* (Konzervativní strana). The original club was named *Young Conservatives' Club* (Klub mladých konzervativců) and it was led by Petr Sokol. The splinter group decided to follow its own course in December 2004. The original name, *The Prague Club of the Young Conservatives* (Pražský klub mladých konzervativců), was changed to *Young Right* (Mladá pravice) in February 2005 and it took on the legal form of a “civic society” (the most basic legal form of NGOs in the Czech Republic) with Lukáš Petřík as its chairman. According to the Young Right’s own description, the reason for the creation of such a splinter group was a “*reaction to the passivity and leftward shift in the Young Conservatives' Club*.”⁸ In an interview recorded in 2007 by Jan Šmíd for the *Agora* magazine, Lukáš Petřík, the leader of the Young Right, explains:

Q: Your organization came into existence by splitting off from the Young Conservatives (MK). Were they not right-wing enough for you? Is it sensible to break up your strength like this?

A: This affair had a much more complicated background, as the personal relationships between the

⁸ Mladá pravice - historie. [online]. [date of quotation: 17 September 2012] available at: <http://pravice.org/historie.php>.

Young Conservatives' leadership and its chairman at that time played a role in it. The regional Young Conservative's club of Prague, in which we actively participated, was very active and it followed a policy that was to a considerable extent independent of the central leadership. Just because we organized an anti-Communist protest on the 1st of May [2004], the Young Conservative's leadership closed down the strongest and the most active club of the whole Young Conservatives movement. In the end, there was no other option but to establish our own organization. But there were ideological differences as well. While the Young Conservatives nominally proclaimed their adherence to conservatism and Thatcherism, there were (and still are) many people who support the registered partnership [of homosexuals], the European Union and many other left-wing solutions. There are also many people [among the Young Conservatives] who adhere to the movement for purely career reasons. It is convenient for us that we are not directly bound to any political party. We ourselves are most sympathetic to the ODS (Civic Democratic Party), but we have much more freedom to criticize it from a right-wing position. On the other hand, we have colleagues among the Young Conservatives with whom we communicate normally. Such healthy competition will help to motivate right-wing organizations to really act as right-wing ones.⁹

⁹ "Předseda Mladé praviče Lukáš Petřík: Tlačíme politiky do prava" *EUportal*, 6 March 2007 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1336-predseda-mlade-pravice-lukas-petrik-tlacime-politiky-do-prava.aspx>

The split was followed by a series of accusations of “*embezzlement*” and even “*espionage*” to the alleged benefit of the parliamentary Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD).¹⁰ Some of the well-known Czech conservative activists expressed their support of the movement, including the anti-Communist fighter Milan Paumer and the secretary of the Czech president Václav Klaus – Ladislav Jakl. The newly established splinter group retained the control¹¹ of the conservative magazine *Portál*, including its electronic version called *Eportál*, which was originally a small magazine intended for the Conservative Party’s youth movement, operating since 2003.

The Young Right’s initial ideology was a mixture of doctrines of the European New Right with American neo-conservatism. President Václav Klaus supplied one of the first articles. Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan are named as the main sources of inspiration. The pillars of Young Right’s ideology are expressed in a form of “*ten commandments*”.¹² The first one is calling for the “*defense of Western civilization*”. The second one stresses the “*transatlantic cooperation and the support of the State of Israel*”. Here, the adherents of the movement declare: “*We are pro-Israeli and we support the state of Israel as a stronghold of the Western world in the otherwise non-democratic Middle East.*” Other pillars of the ideology included, for example: “*national traditions and patriotism*” (no. 5), “*stop to the multiculturalism, mass migration and Islamism*”

¹⁰ Křepelka, P.: “Šéf mladé pravice agentem ČSSD?” Eportál 21 June 2004 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012] available at: <http://eportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/38-sef-mlade-pravice-agentem-cssd-.aspx>.

¹¹ The “putsch” inside the editorial board of the magazine is briefly mentioned in: Křepelka, P.: “Šok: Mladí konzervativci se nebrání komunismu!” 29 May 2004 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012] available at: <http://eportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/14-sok-mladi-konzervativci-se-nebrani-komunismu-.aspx>.

¹² Petřík, L.: “Desatero Mladé pravice”, EUportál, 5 April 2006 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012] available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/PrintArticle/702-desatero-mlade-pravice-pro-evropu-svobodnych-narodu-.aspx>.

(no. 6), as well as “*traditional family against the preference of unnatural bonds*” (no. 9).¹³

Another NGO, named *Český portál* (The Czech Portal), was founded to coordinate the movement’s publication activities. Under this banner, a new branch of the *Eportal* website, called *EUportal*, was established in October 2004, in order to provide – allegedly – a more serious platform, differentiated from the original *Eportal* and its characteristic “yellow” journalism. However, the real difference between these two websites, run by the same editorial board, has been merely superficial. The intended distinction has not been quite clear and the content of both of websites, known among their critics as the “*right-wing gutter press*”, has been mostly overlapping. The content used to be very close to the ideology of Geert Wilders, with its rhetoric arguing against migration, feminism, EU integration, liberalism, homosexuals, abortions, etc., together with a strong support of the United States and Israel. At that time, all websites run by the Young Right contained banners of right-wing, pro-Israeli movements. In June 2005, the Young Right established another website called *EURabia*,¹⁴ in reference to Giselle Littman’s (Bat Ye’or) thesis of the alleged Islamic conspiracy seeking to Islamize Europe. The content of the *EURabia* website was obviously inspired by the Ali Sina’s website *Faith Freedom International*,¹⁵ to which it refers directly (a Czech version of this web started only a few months before *Eurabia*).¹⁶ It became one of the most successful and visible projects of the Young Right. One of *EURabia*’s authors, Olga Ryantová, even attempted to submit a motion to the Czech Ministry of Culture to re-

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Originally on its own domain www.eurabia.cz, now accessible at: <http://eurabia.parlamentnilisty.cz> [date of quotation: 17 September 2012].

¹⁵ See: Faith Freedom International <http://www.faithfreedom.org> [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012].

¹⁶ See: Pravda o islámu <http://pravdaoislamu.cz> [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012].

voke the legal status of the Ústředí muslimských obcí v ČR (The Centre of Muslim Communities in the Czech Republic) in 2004, claiming that its Islamic nature was a violation of the Czech constitution and civil code.¹⁷ EURabia's strong anti-Islamic polemic, on the verge of xenophobia, was something brand new in the Czech public discourse, where until that time, the attitudes towards Islam – in the Czech Republic represented by a marginal minority, nearly “invisible” before 9/11 with its several thousand members – used to be dominated by prudent voices of the Orientalists.

The EURabia website was co-founded by a young, radical, neoconservative journalist Adam Benjamin Bartoš, who also became its chief editor, and his personal story is going to be important in our analysis. At that time, the website was a strong supporter of the US policy, especially of George Bush. It closely cooperated with websites and movements of pro-Israeli right-wingers and even with Christian Zionists from the *International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem* (ICEJ). EURabia presented a world modelled according to Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*. The server gained more attention by presenting an investigative documentary *I, Muslim*, which tried to portray the Prague Muslim community as an isolated and alien world, hostile to non-believers.¹⁸ Its author, Jiří Ovečka, asked one of his friends to pretend he were a Muslim and to infiltrate the Mosque at Černý most in Prague with a candid camera. The resulting movie was a rather poor piece of journalism. The very short, candid-camera shots were unconvincing; many things were not recorded but just referred to by the “infiltrator”, so one cannot tell

¹⁷ Hála, M.: “Strukturální a obsahová analýza serveru EURabia” Migrace Online. 27 June 2006 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=1957012>, see also: Hospodářské noviny, 28 December 2012

¹⁸ *Já, muslim* [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-2992904452963981918> the documentary was broadcast by the Czech Television on 7 October 2005.

whether he was talking from his real experience or just following a script. Moreover, the author tried to help his project by interviewing some of the Czech and foreign anti-Islamic activists, whose voices are heard in the background for most of the movie. Carefully selected quotations from a Czech translation of the *Qur'an*, as well as 9/11 images, still vivid in the popular imagination at that time, were not omitted. Videotapes with the famous 1976 *Ar-Risala* (The Message) movie¹⁹ were presented as “Islamic videos”. In all respects, it was a biased documentary that could only harm any legitimate criticism of Muslim fanaticism, but it gained the necessary attention. It was October 2005 – the time of the Danish *Jyllands Posten* cartoons controversy (started in September 2005) and nearly one year after November 2004 murder of Theo Van Gogh. EUrabia stood up as a “protector of free speech” and presented itself as standing in the first line of defense against the alleged Islamic threat.

The most visible real-life activity of the Young Right in the streets was an annual 9/11 commemoration in Prague, accompanied by protests against Islamic terrorism. Adam Bartoš was one of the prominent organizers and speakers at the event. At the 9/11 commemoration in 2005, Bartoš asked the gathering to tell the world that: “*We support the state of Israel that has to live through its own 9/11 on a small scale, but on a day-to-day basis*”, and finished his speech with the exclamation: “*God bless America! God bless Europe!*”²⁰ At that time, Bartoš was a fully convinced philosemite and a neocon. When Věra Tydlitátová founded the *League against Antisemitism* in 2007, Bartoš was among the first wave of its supporters, though he never contributed to its activities in any way.²¹

¹⁹ Compare *Ar-Risalah* entry at IMDB, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0075143/> [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012].

²⁰ Bartoš, Adam B.: “Nepodléhejme islámskému zlu” EUportal. 19 September 2005 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/411-nepodlehejme-islamskemu-zlu.aspx>

²¹ Personal communication with Věra Tydlitátová.

Lukáš Petřík expressed his support to the *League against Antisemitism* as well, yet his wording was much more careful.²² EURabia supported ICEJ's activities promoting positive feelings towards to the State of Israel.

Among the contributors to the websites of Český portál in the early years of its existence, one could find not only far-right radicals, but also many mainstream, respectable right-wing personalities, including Leo Pavlát, Alexander Tomský, President Václav Klaus, or the director of the National Gallery Milan Knížák. There were some incidents indicating the Young Right might have crossed the line demarcating the realm of the far-right, but at that time, the movement itself rejected them strictly. For example, we could see this rejection when Lukáš Petřík, the leader of the Young Right, personally met the leader of the populist National Party, Petra Edelmanová. This meeting caused disagreements among the movement's supporters, as well as among the wider leadership. In a press announcement from 23 April 2005, Lukáš Petřík apologized for committing such a political mistake and even offered to step down from his position, yet his resignation was rejected.²³ At that time, it seemed that the Czech Republic has merely got one more specimen of the nativist and populist movement of the same sort as Geert Wilders' party. In 2006, on the 1st Colloquy on Antisemitism in Pilsen, I tried to point out that this movement, which I then perceived as "*ultraconservative*", could cross the line and move to the far-right sphere, but I was not completely sure (I had only my personal feeling, but not enough empirical data that would have supported such a

²² "Vyjádření k iniciativě Liga proti antisemitismu" *EUportal*. 16 September 2007 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1529-vyjadreni-k-iniciative-liga-proti-antisemitismu.aspx>

²³ "Tisková zpráva týkající se údajné spolupráce Národní strany a Mladé pravice" *Pravice.org*, 23 April 2005 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: www.pravice.org/dokumenty/TZ_NS.doc

feeling).²⁴ At that time, I was pointing out that the good news of the Young Right's pro-Israeli attitude and its struggle against antisemitism was nonetheless accompanied by bad news, that the Young Right still invoked hatred and xenophobia, and that no one could tell where it was going to stop. However, the actual wording of that presentation and the subsequent article were so careful and so much trapped in theories of political science that it made them invalid.

However, the fear that the movement might cross the far-right line was not fully unjustified. For example, at the end of 2005, a coalition of far-right movements named *Law and Justice* (Právo a Spravedlnost) was created, yet it was not created "on a greenfield". What we know today as *Law and Justice* was formed out of another political party named *Sdružení důchodců České republiky* (Pensioners' Association of the Czech Republic), first established in 1994 and closely cooperating with Miroslav Sládek's *Republicans – SPR-RSČ*, the notorious parliamentary far-right party of 1990s. *Law and Justice* was not created as a brand new movement: it was merely renamed and it retained its far-right inclination. Petr Bahník was appointed the leader of this organization. It was one of the many unsuccessful attempts to integrate the highly fragmented and particularist Czech far-right scene under a neutral banner. The candidate list of Law and Justice was manned by members of the neo-Nazi *Worker's Party* (Dělnická strana),²⁵ *National Unification* (Národní sjednocení), *Democratic Social Justice Party* (Demokratická strana sociální spravedlnosti)²⁶ and *Agrarian party* (Agrární strana). Alongside with

²⁴ Tarant, Z.: "Mladá Pravice" in Tydlitátová, V (eds.): *Kolokvium o soudobém antisemitismu*. Dryada: Plzeň 2007, p. 85-92.

²⁵ For the *Worker's Party* and its role in the *Law and Justice* movement, see: Tarant, Z.: "Worker's Party - From Socialist Nationalism to National Socialism" in Tydlitátová, V; Hanzová, A.: *Anatomy of Hatred: Essays on Anti-Semitism*. Západočeská Univerzita v Plzni: Plzeň 2009, p. 84-102.

²⁶ The *Democratic Social Justice Party* was led by the mother of Tomáš Vandas, a leader of the neo-Nazi *Worker's party*. When the Worker's party was disbanded in February 2010, the *Democratic Social Justice Party* was renamed to *Worker's*

these political parties, smaller civic movements joined in, including the Catholic, ultra-conservative²⁷ *St Joseph's Institute* (Institut sv. Josefa). Moderate right-wingers thus met under the same banner with neo-Nazis and rabid antisemites (like Ladislav Malý). The name and character of the new movement was clearly inspired by the success of the Polish conservative hawks from *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, yet the Czech Law and Justice was far from being as successful as its Polish model. In the 2006 parliamentary election, it received only 0.23% (12 756 valid votes of the total of 5 348 976 valid votes).²⁸

The ideology of Law and Justice included a wide scale of conservative, ultra-conservative, Catholic, nativist, anti-communist, anti-liberal and nationalist motives. The movement stood up against drugs, registered homosexual partnership, interruptions, gambling, immigration, multiculturalism, European constitution, etc. All these motives were presented in a carefully censored language (i.e. free of explicit racism in all official statements) which made it an acceptable partner even for modest, non-extremist movements. Young Right expressed its support to the movement as well and published its proclamations on the EUportal website many times.²⁹ Young Right did not participate in the movement's activities directly. However, its

Party of Social Justice and all the members of the disbanded *Worker's party* moved under its banner.

²⁷ The group prefers to be referred to as “integralist Catholics”.

²⁸ “2006 Parliamentary elections – final results” *Czech statistical office* [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.volby.cz/pls/ps2006/ps2?xjazyk=CZ>

²⁹ See for example: “Konzervativně nacionalistická strana Právo a spravedlnost vyzývá k odmítnutí antidiskriminačního zákona” EUportal 26 October 2007 [online], [date of quotation: 17th of September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/PrintArticle/1956-konzervativne-nacionalisticka-strana-pravo-a-spravedlnost-vyzyva-k-odmitnuti-antidiskriminacniho-zakona.aspx>; “Právo a spravedlnost děkuje prezidentovi Polska za nepodepsání Lisabonské smlouvy” EUportal 1 July 2008 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/PrintArticle/2972-pravo-a-spravedlnost-dekuje-prezidentovi-polska-za-nepodepsani-lisabonske-smlouvy.aspx>

support of Law and Justice, whose candidate list contained names like Tomáš Vandas (the leader of the neo-Nazi *Worker's Party* and a former prominent member of Miroslav Sládek's *Republican Party*), was among the first signs that the Young Right's course was beginning to change during June 2006. Roman Joch's (the later advisor of the Czech Prime Minister Jiří Nečas) appreciation of Augusto Pinochet, written with the passion worth of historical revisionists, may have been one of these signs as well,³⁰ but at that time, all eyes were looking at the neo-Nazis whose activity was reaching its peak.

The actual change of the Young Right was a very slow process with many turns and shifts. The movement's strong pro-US sentiment was slowly fading at the end of 2007, but its replacement by anti-US attitudes took much more time. When a discussion about the possible deployment of a radar facility on the Czech territory as a part of the American anti-ballistic missile defense system was going on in 2007 and 2008, the Young Right was among its strongest supporters.³¹ At this stage, cooperation with the United States was seen as a necessary evil that would save the Czech Republic from German and Russian influences.³² At that time, Germany and Russia were seen as the axis of evil by the Young Right. In one of his 2007 speeches, Petřík stressed the importance of "*central European co-operation forming a wall against Germany, Russia and the Islam from the Western Europe*".³³ The attitude towards the radar facility

³⁰ Joch, R.: "Augusto Pinochet - Nikoli beze cti" [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/902-augusto-pinochet-nikoli-beze-cti.aspx>

³¹ A search query for "radar" on the *EUportal* website returns 115 results, with about 80% of them strongly supportive of this project. [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Search.aspx?Query=radar>

³² "Geopolitická spolupráce s Polskem a státy středovýchodní Evropy" *EUportal*, 24 July 2007 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1704-geopoliticka-spoluprace-s-polskem-a-staty-stredovýchodni-evropy.aspx>

³³ "Středoevropská spolupráce jako hráz proti Německu, Rusku a islámu ze západní

began to change in 2008, after the Czech Social Democratic Party offered to exchange its support for the radar (which it initially refused) for the Civic Democratic Party's support for the Treaty of Lisbon. Young Right strongly opposed such an offer and asked the Civic Democrats and the President to refuse both the radar and the Treaty of Lisbon, should they face such a dilemma.³⁴ The pro-Israeli policy was still held firmly and the EUportal and EURabia websites were still a must-read for pro-Israeli hawks. Thatcherism was present as well.³⁵ Although the movement did support the Law and Justice, for whose support the neo-Nazi magazine *Workers' Journal* (Dělnické listy) was calling at the same time, there was no real, deliberate co-operation between neo-Nazis and the Young Right in 2007. The movements still occupied completely different spaces and in the eyes of the EUportal contributors, neo-Nazis were still a mere bunch of "antisemitic boneheads". Importantly, the gradual transformation of the Young Right was also far from systematic. It was a subconscious process, it came into being rather slowly on individual, personal level, and it was led not by neo-Nazis, but by ultra-conservative Catholics and fans of 9/11 conspiracy theories. Last but not least, it was not devoid of paradoxes.

At the same time when the Young Right supported Law and Justice, antisemites, like Martin Čejka, Michal Kretschmer or Ladislav Malý, and neo-Nazis, like Tomáš Vandas, Jiří Petřivalský,

Evropy" *EUportal*, 18 July 2007 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1684-stredoevropska-spoluprace-jako-hraz-proti-nemecku-rusku-a-islamu-ze-zapadni-evropy.aspx>

³⁴ Compare the articles on the radar facility at the EUportal website from 2007 and 2008. [online], [date of quotation: 26 October 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Search.aspx?Query=radar>

³⁵ "Předseda Mladé pravice Lukáš Petřík: Tlačíme politiky do prava" *EUportal*, 6 March 2007 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1336-predseda-mlade-pravice-lukas-petrik-tlacime-politiky-do-prava.aspx>

František Červenka or Petr Fryč (notorious as one of the organizers of the march with torches through Prague in January 2003 which the neo-Nazis were trying to repeat in 2007), were on its candidate lists.³⁶ By then, when the Young Right supported Law and Justice, the already mentioned *Worker's Journal* asked its readership (the appeal was located on the front page) to vote for Law and Justice as well.³⁷ Above this call to support Law and Justice, in the upper-left part of the front page, there was the emblem of a worker with a hammer, taken directly from 1930s NSDAP election posters.³⁸ Ladislav Malý, a fierce, rabid antisemite from *National Unification*, became a member of Law and Justice and from this position, he wrote a series of explicitly antisemitic articles for *Worker's Journal*. By then, most of the antisemitic contents of this periodical was actually produced by Malý. Yet the Young Right still supported the Law and Justice movement with the neo-Nazis and antisemites in its ranks, exhibiting what may be at best considered naïvety.

At the same time, in November 2007, when the neo-Nazi movement *Národní odpor* (National Resistance) was trying to carry out its march through the Prague Jewish town, the Young Right strictly denounced these neo-Nazi activities³⁹ and expressed its full support to the anti-Nazi and Jewish activists who came to block the

³⁶ "Election to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic – list of candidates: PaS" [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.volby.cz/pls/ps2006/ps111?xjazyk=EN&xkraj=0&xstrana=5&xv=1&xt=1>

³⁷ *Dělnické listy*, January – February 2006 (IV. / 7.), p. 1.

³⁸ The emergence of these posters in the *Worker's Party's* journals and during their public events in 2005 was among the first explicit signs of the influence of neo-Nazi personalities on the party's ideology. These tendencies were discussed in media. The party took over one of the most famous NSDAP election posters from 1933, depicting a muscular foundry worker with a large hammer. They only replaced the original sign "The worker, the steel fist, votes for the front soldier Hitler", by "Worker's Party, nation, freedom and welfare".

³⁹ "Mladá pravice proti neonacistům" *EUportal*, 29 October 2007 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1980-mlada-pravice-proti-neonacistum.aspx>

way of the march with their bodies in what proved to be one of the largest demonstrations against antisemitism in the post-communist Eastern Europe with about 5 000 participants. I remember Adam Bartoš staying there, on that freezing November day at the Old Town's square in Prague, holding an Israeli flag together with two other Jewish right-wingers and proudly wearing a yellow badge made by Věra Tydlitátová and distributed by the *League against Antisemitism*.⁴⁰ Only by looking back, one can see the paradox of the Young Right proclaiming its support to the state of Israel, while at the same time it supported a political party which had neo-Nazis on its candidate lists. In 2007, Adam Bartoš was standing in the Old Town of Prague with an Israeli flag, while at the same time, one of the election candidates of Law and Justice (Jiří Petřivalský) tried to march through the very same Jewish town in the very same city.

This was not the last one of many such paradoxes – there were more yet to come. As I describe the Young Right here as a “movement”, since 2007 it would be much more precise to describe it as a group of people who ran a set of yellow journalism websites. Most of the members of the original discussion club had begun their own political careers by then and we will be encountering them under the banners of different movements. It is only the set of websites – Eportal, EUportal, EUrabia and the latest EUserver – which has been providing some bond to their individual activities. While most of them will follow approximately the same course, their individual stories are going to be different in details.

On 7 November 2007, a group of ultra-conservative Catholics, inspired by the ideas of the sectarian Lefebvrist movement, started a petition entitled D.O.S.T. (E.N.O.U.G.H.). Its name is an acronym of the Czech words “důvěra” (trust), “objektivita” (objective-

⁴⁰ Bartoš retains the photograph from this event on his personal blog: <http://abbartos.wordpress.com/about/> [date of quotation: 17 September 2012]

ness), “svoboda” (freedom) and “tradice” (traditions). The petition was a direct reaction to the public discussion of the EU *Lisbon Treaty*, legalization of homosexual marriages (the so-called “registered partnership”) and the so-called *Anti-Discrimination Act*. The petition itself was very vaguely worded, so that anyone could find his or her themes in it. However, behind the careful wording, there was a hidden presupposition that Catholicism is the only true religion, that homosexuality is a disease and that men and women are not equal.⁴¹ The main initiator of this petition list was Michal Semín, a co-founder (together with Martin Čejka) of the already mentioned ultra-conservative think-tank *St Joseph Institute* (Institut Svatého Josefa). The Institute was notorious for its *Te Deum* magazine where the ancient myth of Jewish deicide was presented as a pure fact. In reaction to the 2nd Lebanon War of 2006, Semín wrote an article for the mainstream daily *Mladá Fronta Dnes* and for the Young Right’s EUportal named “*Israel Acts Like the Terrorists*”,⁴² in which he claimed that Talmud invites the killing of Christians and the burning of Christian books. Benjamin Kuras, the Czech writer who converted to Judaism during his British exile in the 1970s, defended the Talmud and a new episode of the age-old discussion between a Jew and a Christian of anti-Jewish beliefs (aptly described by Pavel Hošek in his chapter of this book) took place on the EUportal.⁴³ At that time, other supporters of the Young Right, including Karel Orlík and Robert Řehák, criticized Semín for his anti-Jewish statements.⁴⁴

⁴¹ See the English translation of the original petition at: http://www.akce-dost.cz/dost_uk.htm [date of quotation: 17 September 2012]

⁴² Semín, M.: “Izrael jedná jako teroristé”, EUportal, 15 August 2006 [online], [date of quotation: 17th of September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/854-izrael-jedna-jako-teroriste.aspx>

⁴³ Kuras, B.: “Talmud není zdroj nenávisťi”, EUportal, 15 August 2006 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/855-talmud-neni-zdroj-terorismu.aspx>

⁴⁴ Orlík, K.: “Antisemitismus se dere na povrch” EUportal, 16 September 2006 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/856-antisemitismus-se-dere-na-povrch.aspx>

Semín's answer to his critics was an article inspired by a website of the American Holocaust denier Michael A. Hoffman.⁴⁵

Michal Semín originally co-founded (together with Roman Joch) a think-tank named *Civic institute* (Občanský institut) in the early 1990s; however, its rather neoconservative style did not meet his expectations. This is why he teamed up with Martin Čejka and co-founded another think-tank, the already mentioned St Joseph Institute, which follows strictly ultra-conservative ideas. The Young Right was originally closely connected with the *Civic Institute*, but Semín, who was also the initiator of the ultra-conservative D.O.S.T. petition, helped to push the movement further into the sphere of conservative Catholicism – from neo-conservatism to ultraconservatism.

It was Semín who wrote the D.O.S.T. petition and provided it with the first signature. Petr Bahník, the leader of the Law and Justice party, was the eighth signatory. František Červenka, a former leader of the antisemitic *National Unity* movement, was the signatory no. 10. Ladislav Bátora, who led the 2006 candidate list of the populist *National Party* (Národní strana), was the seventeenth signatory. The petition gained a considerable amount of attention when it was revealed that six members of the Parliament⁴⁶ and one senator,⁴⁷ elected for the *Civic Democratic Party* (ODS), included their signatures as well.⁴⁸ This led to a more intensive debate about the presence

euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/910-antisemitismus-se-dere-na-povrch.aspx

⁴⁵ Semín, M.: "Pravda o Talmudu", *EUportal*, 17 August 2006 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/859-pravda-o-talmudu.aspx>, Semín took parts of the contents from "The Truth about the Talmud": <http://www.revisionisthistory.org/talmudtruth.html>.

⁴⁶ Their names were: Alena Páralová (no. 81), Eva Dundáčková (no. 83), Zděnek Prošek (no. 91), Petr Pleva (no. 234), Josef Ježek (no. 93) and Juraj Raninec (no. 239).

⁴⁷ The senator's name was Karel Tejnora (no. 63).

⁴⁸ "K výzvě D.O.S.T. se připojilo již šest poslanců ODS" *EUportal*, 14 December 2012. [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/2117-k-vyzve-d-o-s-t-se-prijilo-jiz-6-poslancu-ods.aspx>.

of radical conservative attitudes among the parliamentary Civic Democrats, but the discussion died out quickly and the whole petition disappeared from the media for the following two years. Yet it continued its existence on the Young Right's websites. The banner of the petition was put on the front pages of all Czech Portal websites. At the EUportál website, one can find Michal Semín's call: "*The common sense commands E.N.O.U.G.H.*"⁴⁹ President Václav Klaus expressed his support to the D.O.S.T. petition through his spokesperson Petr Hájek⁵⁰ (another ultra-Catholic radical) two years later on 29 January 2010, although he did not sign the petition itself. Who however did sign the petition was the President's secretary Ladislav Jakl (as no. 696). Adam Bartoš, the co-founder of the EURabia website, signed the petition as well (no. 537). The Young Right's neocon sentiment was definitely dead at that time and its former pro-US orientation was replaced by a strong pro-Russian sentiment. When one reads any article on the present-day EUportal, Eportal, EURabia etc. websites, it is hard to believe that in 2007, the very same websites supported the deployment of the American anti-missile defense system on the Czech territory, discussed in 2007-2008, so actively and radically. Together with this "conversion", various conspiracy theories and anti-US topics entered the Young Right's discourse. When my colleague Věra Tydlitátová writes in her chapter of this book about the influence of Russian antisemitism on the Czech discourse, it is important to realize that these formerly neocon websites nowadays play a significant role in this phenomenon.

⁴⁹ "Zdravý rozum velí D.O.S.T.", *EUportal*, 29 January 2008. [online], [date of quotation: 17th of September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/2249-zdravy-rozum-veli-dost.aspx>

⁵⁰ "Klaus oficiálně podpořil politicky nekorektní Akci D.O.S.T. a Bobošíkovou" *EUportal*, 29 January 2010. [online], [date of quotation: 17th of September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/6621-klaus-oficialne-podporil-politicky-nekorektni-akci-d-o-s-t-a-bobosikovou.aspx>.

Adam Bartoš himself explains that his conversion from neo-conservatism to “*conservatism without adjectives*” came about some time during the summer 2008. In an article, published on the EUportal on the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, he describes how his neoconservative convictions changed after he had met one of the foremost Czech 9/11 conspiracy theorists Jan Zeman,⁵¹ and that this conversion was finished when he read a book *Death in the Centre* written by Václav Klaus’s advisor Petr Hájek, where the author claims that Osama bin Laden was merely a “*medial fiction*”, that the evolution theory is invalid, and that the whole world is dominated by hidden, powerful and wealthy groups.⁵² There might have been other factors as well influencing his conversion. Bartoš, who used to work for the mainstream news portal Idnes.cz, lost his position in 2010.⁵³ In reaction to what he saw as a punishment for his critical articles on the Lisbon Treaty he wrote for this news server, he began to speak about “*medial manipulations*,” but he still asserted that: “*I have supported Israel and I will support Israel, because I am a religious man and the Israeli instinct for self-preservation that the West lacks so much is very sympathetic to me.*”⁵⁴

But even this attitude was going to change. Bartoš himself announced his conversion in an interview with one of the far-right bloggers,⁵⁵ and founded a brand new branch of the Portal websites: a

⁵¹ Bartoš, Adam B.: “Jak se z fanouška George Bushe ze mě stal popírač oficiální verze 11. září.” *EUportal*, 11th of September 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 17th of September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/8117-jak-se-z-fanouska-george-bushe-ze-me-stal-popirac-oficialni-verze-11-zari.aspx>.

⁵² Hájek, P.: *Smrt ve středu*. Dokořán: Prague 2009

⁵³ Král, L.: “Rozhovor s bývalým novinářem iDnes o mediální manipulaci” *EUportal*, 12 January 2010 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/5525-rozhovor-s-byvalym-novinarem-idnes-o-medialni-manipulaci.aspx>

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “O médiích a politice s bývalým novinářem z iDnes.cz,” *D-Fens*, 7 February 2010, [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at:

project entitled Freeglobe with the oldest entry dating back to 25 May 2010. This first contribution was Bartoš's praise for President Klaus's remarks on the "New World Order".⁵⁶ The attitude of the EURabia website changed as well. In one of his book reviews for this website, Bartoš writes: *"I was able to free myself from the naïve faith in Osama bin Laden as the initiator of all the evil in the world. The EURabia.cz server focuses only on the issues of coexistence with the Muslims in Europe. This theme is in fact so huge, principal and actual that it will be able to stand the test of time, even when we throw the War against terror overboard as an American invention. We will still have many topics and problems to point out and to write about."*⁵⁷

In an article named *"The Other Clash of Civilizations, or the Jews in the Shadow of the Muslims"*, Bartoš announces that the "New World Order", represented by influential Jewish personalities, is in fact much worse than Islamization, which – according to Bartoš – is nothing more than a tool for gaining support for the state of Israel, or even perhaps a means by which the control over the world, unified under the banner of struggle against a common enemy, may be seized. Bartoš writes: *"After all, what is the easiest way to shake off the suspicion than to divert the attention onto someone else? And what may be a better way of blunting the teeth of antisemitism than*

<http://www.dfens-cz.com/view.php?cisloclanku=2010020705>

⁵⁶ Bartoš, Adam B.: "Klausovo postesknutí: 'Všichni chtějí nový světový řád'" *Freeglobe* 19 May 2010 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1-klausovo-postesknuti-vsichni-chteji-novy-svetovy-rad.aspx>.

⁵⁷ Bartoš, Adam B.: "Jak zabít civilizaci? Nad knihou Benjamina Kurase", *EURabia* 23 May 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://eurabia.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/6172-jak-zabit-civilizaci-nad-knihou-benjamina-kurase.aspx>.

to offer another enemy to the society (moreover, our own enemy?)”⁵⁸
Later, he continues:

Very often the gravest rivalry seems to be among those who are in fact very close one to another and who strive for the same goal. So the idea came to my mind – what if the whole Clash of civilizations, masked as the clash of the West with Islam, were in fact a clash between Islam and Judaism? And what if the Jews, who became used to doing things under a cover, obliquely and secretly, were manipulating the West into the clash with Islam, partly to get the public opinion on their side and made their Middle-Eastern conflict a world conflict (because without this, they cannot succeed in that conflict), and partly because they need to blame someone else for their ambitions for world dominance, in order to distract the attention from their own plans? If it were like this, it would be a brilliant strategy. And with the Jews, such strategies are natural.⁵⁹

Bartoš then proceeds to sum up the basic theses of his EUrabia website about Islam, including the ambitions for world dominance and the notion of being the chosen ones, and he announces that these phenomena have been discovered in Judaism as well. Bartoš returns to his new topic repeatedly, for example in articles *“To whom should we thank for Islamization”*⁶⁰ or *“What is the major threat: Is-*

⁵⁸ BARTOŠ, Adam B.: “Střet civilizací trochu jinak, aneb Židé ve stínu muslimů”. *EUrabia.cz*, 20 November 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://eurabia.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/6933-stret-civilizaci-trochu-jinak-aneb-zide-ve-stinu-muslimu.aspx>.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ BARTOŠ, Adam B.: “Komu vděčíme za islamizaci?” *EUrabia*, 17 November 2011, [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://eurabia.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/6922-komu-vdecime-za->

lamization or the NWO?”⁶¹ Finally, in an article named “*The European New Right in the Israeli Service*”,⁶² Bartoš uses antisemitic concepts in order to denounce the very same ideas he himself radically asserted only a couple of years before. The formerly neocon philosemite has metamorphosed into an ultraconservative antisemite.

*

The fact that the anti-immigration or anti-Islamic rhetoric can, under the influence of ultra-conservative doctrines, turn against the Jews, is not new. We can name cases from Germany or Austria,⁶³ as well as several examples from the Czech Republic. In Germany, for instance, in the late 1990s, the magazine *Pro Fide Catholica*, founded in 1988 by the German Catholic Sedevacantist⁶⁴ movement, published a series of pamphlets blaming Jews for multiculturalism and for Muslim (esp. Turkish) immigration to Germany. Among these pamphlets, especially two are worth mentioning: “*Who Directs*

islamizaci.aspx.

⁶¹ “Je větší nebezpečí NWO, nebo islamizace?” *Freeglobe*, 18 September 2011. [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1054-je-vetsi-nebezpeci-nwo-nebo-islamizace.aspx>.

⁶² BARTOŠ, Adam B.: “Evropská nová pravice ve službách Izraele” *EUportal*, 13 September 2011. [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/8097-evropska-nova-pravice-ve-sluzbach-izraele.aspx>.

⁶³ For an account of the situation in Austria, see: HOEDL, K.: “Islamophobia as a Source of Anti-Semitism in Austria” in Tydlitátová, V.; Hanzová, A.: *Anatomy of Hatred: Essays on Anti-Semitism*. Západočeská Univerzita v Plzni: Plzeň 2009, p. 60-70.

⁶⁴ The so-called Sedevacantists are a radical Catholic sectarian movement, founded in 1967 in response to the 2nd Vatican council whose progressive conclusions they strictly reject. Since 1967, the Sedevacantists appointed about two dozens of “anti-Popes”. The term Sedevacantism is derived from Latin and it should express the belief that the Holy Chair is vacant – i.e. that there has been no legitimate pope since Vatican II.

Islam”,⁶⁵ written by Johannes Rothkranz, and “*Where Did Islam Come From?*”⁶⁶ by Curzio Nitoglia. The first one claims that the Jews and Freemasons are directly responsible for Turkish immigration to Germany, and it also tries to “document” this hypothesis on a series of photographs of politicians who are allegedly using “Masonic gestures”. According to the pamphlet, the Jews and Muslims are not enemies at all and all their ostensible hostility is only pretended. The second pamphlet claims that Islam is nothing more than a simplified version of Judaism, systematically inoculated to Arab savages by some rabbis in order to direct them against the Christian civilization.

Both pamphlets have been translated into Czech by Jaroslav Voříšek, who became notorious as a co-editor of the infamous 1990s antisemitic magazine *Týdeník Politika*, whose chief editor even spent four years in jail for crimes perpetuating hate. It was Jaroslav Voříšek who wrote about the process against Politika’s chief editor in an antisemitic pamphlet entitled “*A Prague Political Trial in the Case of Týdeník Politika*”.⁶⁷ The very same Jaroslav Voříšek translated the German pamphlets about the alliance of Muslims with the Jews and published them on one of the small Czech ultra-Catholic antisemitic websites. The books were later published (without the authors’ or the translator’s consent⁶⁸) by a neo-Nazi publishing house Sowulo Press. The *Worker’s Journal* advertised the first pamphlet with a short paragraph taken from the second one. This advertisement is by all

⁶⁵ See ROTHKRANZ, J.: *Wer steuert den Islam*. Schimdt, Anton A: 1998.

⁶⁶ See NITOGLIA, C.: *Woher stammt der Islam*. Schimdt, Anton A: 1998.

⁶⁷ VOŘÍŠEK, J.: *Pražský politický proces ve věci Týdeníku Politika*. [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: http://vzdelavaci-institut.info/?q=system/files/Prazsky_politicky_proces_ve_veci_tydeniku_politika-Jaroslav_Vorisek.pdf

⁶⁸ SEDLÁČEK, E.: “Satanova synagoga a ostatní brak od Sowulo press.” Odpor.org, 2 August 2009 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available only through the Archive.org: <http://web.archive.org/web/20091107044329/http://odpor.org/index.php?page=clanky&kat=&clanek=1013>

means noteworthy:

Islam comes from a post-Christian (and anti-Christian) Judaism. It was neither Allah nor Gabriel who inspired the “prophet” Muhammad, but a rabbi of Mecca. The original, true Qur’an was nothing more than an Arab translation and a refurbishment of the five books of Moses. The true ideological background of Islam sheds light on the true, hidden forces behind the process of Islamization of Europe. It is obvious that regarding their numbers, the members of the “chosen people” themselves were not able to acquire world dominance alone. Thus, they used (as many times before and after that) the racially close, much more numerous and until those days purely pagan Arabs. And with their genuine Talmudic slyness, they equipped the Arabs with a religious ideology for a “holy war” in the name of foreign interests. The same ideology would remove them from power in the (highly improbable) case of realization of Talmudic-Jewish world dominance, because they serve the wrong god and the wrong law.⁶⁹

The same book contains statements like: *“the hateful, anti-Christian Muslims are destined to play the role of mercenaries of the infinitely more hateful anti-Christian Talmudism”*⁷⁰ or *“In the plans of the globalist Zionism, Islam undoubtedly plays a very important role, but for the very same reason (...) it has long ago become an obedient instrument in the hands of the hidden Zionist circles.”*⁷¹ The idea that Jews and Muslims cooperate on their plan to destroy

⁶⁹ “Kdo skutečně řídí islám?”, Dělnické listy no. 19, December 2008, p. 4 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: http://www.delnicka-strana.cz/index.php?option=com_weblinks&task=view&catid=51&id=35.

⁷⁰ ROTHKRANZ, J.: *Kdo skutečně řídí islám*. Sowulo press: Žďár nad Sázavou 2009, p. 8.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 4.

Europe through immigration is becoming more and more common in the last two years. The Czech neo-Nazi website *Bratrství* (Brotherhood), for example, which is known for its emphasis on neo-Nazi neo-paganism, pan-Slavism and fantasy literature, inspired by the Italian neo-Fascist *Casapound* squatter movement, published a series of articles in which the whole anti-immigration rhetoric is explained as a Jewish plan designed in order to divert attention from the “crimes” of the state of Israel. One of these articles, accompanied with the picture of Geert Wilders wearing a kippah at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, informs its readers that „*Islamism wins with the Zionist support*”.⁷² Another article at the same website warns that “*Muslims Are Not the Only Immigrants*”.⁷³ Pro-Israeli attitudes of the neoconservative movements are explained by the Nazis as one part of a larger conspiracy: “*But it is necessary to divert the attention from the wicked existence of the state of Israel. Be it for whatever price, it does not matter as the others will pay it and make the rightly chosen ones to profit. These conservative, pro-Zionist right-wingers perform here nothing more than the role of the useful idiots.*”⁷⁴ By comparing this neo-Nazi statement with proclamations written by the Young Right’s supporters since 2010, it is no wonder the neo-Nazis became faithful readers of the Freeglobe website where the same beliefs have been published. Some of the articles from Freeglobe were directly adopted by the websites of the *National Resistance*.⁷⁵ One of the foremost neo-Nazi personalities, Erik

⁷² “Islamismus vítězí s podporou sionistů” Bratrství, 27 January 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://bratrstvi.net/2012/01/27/islamismus-vitezi-s-podporou-sionistu/>.

⁷³ “Muslimové nejsou jediní přistěhovalci”, Bratrství, 30 November 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://bratrstvi.net/2011/11/30/muslimove-nejsou-jedini-pristehovalci/>.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Examples of such adopted articles include: “Nový francouzský prezident se byl představit u zednářů. Jak jinak...” Svobodný odpor, 18 May 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.svobodnyodpor.info/>

Sedláček, became an enthusiastic reader of Bartoš's personal blog. On a forum of neo-Nazi hooligans, Sedláček writes: *"It's a shame that articles by Bartoš are going to disappear on that obscure blog. They should be published as a printed book and made a compulsory reading at schools."*⁷⁶

*

One of the most important far-right websites of the early 2000s was the Czech version of the *Altermedia* server.⁷⁷ It served as a neutral ground where pan-Aryan neo-Nazis met with the Czech nationalists, neofascists and ultra-conservative Catholics. Various parts of the Czech far-right were able to meet and communicate on this neutral ground which provided a platform for exchanging ideas throughout this deeply divided and particularist scene. However, the last update of the Czech-language Altermedia took place in mid-2011 and whilst the website is still accessible, the last entry – an article blaming the state of Israel for the terrorist attack of Anders Breivik – appeared in August 2011.⁷⁸ Since then, the website seems to be forsaken. Apparently, Altermedia has problems in multiple countries: its German version, for example, went offline completely in early 2012.⁷⁹ Today, it seems that the role of Altermedia on the Czech

2012/05/novy-francouzsky-prezident-se-byl.html; David Rath je Žid. Kdo bude další? Svobodný odpor, 27 July 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.svobodnyodpor.info/2012/07/david-rath-je-zid-kdo-bude-dalsi.html> etc.

⁷⁶ Forum of neo-Nazi hooligans at: forum.hooligans.cz, post from 18 January 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://forum.hooligans.cz>, section: "Antisionistická liga".

⁷⁷ <http://cz.altermedia.info> [online], [link verified on: 17 September 2012].

⁷⁸ Schaub, B.: Norsko – komu se ten zločin hodí? [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: http://cz.altermedia.info/ze-zahranici/norsko-komu-se-ten-zlocin-hodi_9703.html.

⁷⁹ "Nach Sperrung von Altermedia Deutschland Rechtsextreme bedrohen Jugendschützer" *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 25 July 2012 [online], [date of quotation:

scene – i.e.: the role of the meeting place for various sorts of the Czech far-right – has been taken on by the Young Right's Freeglobe server. Not only that it serves a purpose similar to that of Altermedia, but it also tries to revive and recycle some of Altermedia's contents. About 13 older articles from the Altermedia website were overtaken by the Freeglobe website by October 2012, including articles on the infamous Khazar theory,⁸⁰ or an article called *"The State of Israel Through the Eyes of a Catholic"*, whose author, Michal Kretschmer, writes: *"Accumulation of the Jews in a non-Christian state is not convenient for their future conversion to Christ, because their life in the state of Israel only strengthens their Jewish identity."*⁸¹ Some articles actually originated on neo-Nazi websites,⁸² others were translated by foremost Czech neo-Nazi personalities, including the above-quoted former neo-Nazi and the National Resistance leader Erik Sedláček, whose translation of John Mearshimer's notorious study *"Israel and the US Foreign Policy"* from 2006 was serialized on the website in May 2012.⁸³ The website expresses its support of the con-

17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/nach-sperrung-von-altermedia-deutschland-rechtsextreme-bedrohen-jugendschuetzer-1.1464531>

⁸⁰ "Kdo jsou dnešní Židé?", Freeglobe, 25 May 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1817-kdo-jsou-dnesni-zide-.aspx>

⁸¹ "Stát Izrael pohledem katolíka" Freeglobe.cz, 3 March 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1563-stat-izrael-pohledem-katolika.aspx>

⁸² Such as the article "From Antifa to Schwarzenberg" which originated from a neo-Nazi blog *Bratrství* (Brotherhood) "Od Antify po Schwarzenberga" Freeglobe.cz, 14 June 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/768-od-antify-po-schwarzenberga.aspx>

⁸³ See: "Slavná studie: Izraelská lobby a americká zahraniční politika (1/3)" Freeglobe.cz, 10 May 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1772-slavna-studie-izraelska-lobby-a-americka-zahranicni-politika-1-3-.aspx>; "Slavná studie: Izraelská lobby a americká zahraniční politika (2/3)" Freeglobe.cz, 14 May 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1785-slavna-studie-izraelska-lobby-a->

victed Holocaust denier Vladimír Stwora,⁸⁴ as well as of a group of neo-Nazis who were on trial for propagation of neo-Nazi movements (National Resistance and its women's branch Resistance Women Unity) at the time.⁸⁵ However, all the antisemitic beliefs are published together with the 9/11 conspiracy theories, Bilderberg⁸⁶ and even urban legends like the so-called chemtrails.⁸⁷ Bartoš himself attempted to predict an alleged conspiracy and a false flag operation – a nuclear attack in Berlin during a world female soccer championship on 26 June 2011 – by means of analyzing Leonard Cohen's famous song "First We Take Manhattan" and the 461st episode of *The Simpsons* TV series (sic!).⁸⁸ As for the American radar the Young Right supported so radically in 2008, their current view is that the

americka-zahranicni-politika-2-3-.aspx; "Slavná studie: Izraelská lobby a americká zahraniční politika (3/3)" Freeglobe.cz, 22 May 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1771-slavna-studie-izraelska-lobby-a-americka-zahranicni-politika-3-3-.aspx>.

⁸⁴ "Je obžalován z popírání holokaustu. Rozhovor s Vladimírem Stworou", EUportál, 14 July 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/7863-je-obzalovan-z-popirani-holokaustu-rozhovor-s-vladimirem-stworou.aspx>.

⁸⁵ "Akce D.O.S.T. varuje před politickými procesy! Ohrožují práva a svobody občanů více než 'extrémisté'" Freeglobe, 23 May 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1809-akce-d-o-s-t-varuje-pred-politickymi-procesy-ohrozuj-prava-a-svobody-obcanu-vice-nez-extremiste-.aspx>

⁸⁶ Entering the word "Bilderberg" into the Freeglobe's search engine returned more than 50 separate results in October 2012. Search query for "Bilderberg" on EUportal.cz [online], [date of quotation: 20 October 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Search.aspx?Query=%u017did>

⁸⁷ Entering the word "Chemtrails" into the Freeglobe's search engine returned more than 64 separate results in October 2012. Search query for "Chemtrails" on EUportal.cz [online], [date of quotation: 20 October 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Search.aspx?Query=Chemtrails>

⁸⁸ BARTOŠ, Adam B.: "Teroristický útok v Berlíně už dnes?", Freeglobe, 26 June 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/PrintArticle/805-teroristicky-utok-v-berline-uz-dnes-.aspx>

radar was supposed to be a part of a top-secret American weapon, capable of changing the world's climate or causing earthquakes.⁸⁹

*

Czech antisemitism remains a rather marginal issue,⁹⁰ but it has not died out completely. It has only changed its primary sources: from nationalist populism or neo-Nazism to postmodern spirituality, conspiracy theories, Catholic clero-fascism and, last but not least, the disappointed philosemites from former conservative and neoconservative movements. While the neo-Nazi *Worker's Party of Social Justice* seems to have adopted a pragmatic position concerning the Jewish themes (i.e.: not to provoke the public with explicit antisemitism) in the last years and the cells of the former *Autonomous Nationalists*, inspired by the Italian Casapound squatter movement, started to flirt with the revived neofascist doctrine of the "third way" in which antisemitism plays a rather subsidiary role, websites like Freeglobe are run by active, convinced antisemites, which leads to a paradox of neo-Nazi websites producing less antisemitic content than the ultra-conservative and formerly philosemitic ones. While the neo-Nazis produced one or two antisemitic articles per week in 2011 and 2012, websites like Freeglobe published the same amount every day. While the neo-Nazi websites have to be registered abroad (mainly in

⁸⁹ "HAARP. Pravda o nejděsivější zbrani světa", Freeglobe, 25 November 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 13 October 2012], available at: <http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/1167-haarp-pravda-o-nejdesivejsi-zbrani-sveta.aspx>

⁹⁰ Compare the last annual *Report on Antisemitism* published by the *Forum against Antisemitism* in 2010. In 2010, about 47 incidents were reported. However, 90% of them were of a verbal character (mostly websites). Several incidents of vandalism (graffiti) were recorded. In the last 5 years, only 1 physical attack motivated by antisemitism was recorded: "Zpráva o stavu antisemitismu za rok 2010." *Fórum proti antisemitismu* [online], [date of quotation: 13th of October 2012], available at: <http://www.fzo.cz/wp-content/uploads/zprava-2010.pdf>

the USA) in order to escape criminal prosecution, websites like Free-globe operate freely within the Czech jurisdiction, for which they present a brand new challenge.

On the other hand, it is very hard to even guess at the real influence the ultraconservative movements may or may not have. The Young Right is nothing more than a website or a think-tank, it does not participate in elections. In terms of the political parties that openly cooperate with the ultra-conservatives (and the Young Right), the most successful was the populist, Eurosceptic *Sovereignty* (Suverenita) party led by Jana Bobošíková, which was able to get 4.26% of valid votes in the 2009 EU Parliament election⁹¹ and 3.67% in the 2010 Czech parliamentary election,⁹² but it failed to achieve any significant results in the recent 2012 elections to the Senate and to the regional councils.⁹³ Other radical conservative parties, like the *Conservative party* (Konzervativní strana), *Law and Justice* (Právo a Spravedlnost) or the *Free Citizens' Party* (Strana svobodných občanů), were never able to get more than 2% in any election that took place in the last ten years.⁹⁴

If the reader experienced symptoms of confusion somewhere in the middle of this chapter, caused by the large variety of parties and movements, it is not his or her fault. Apart from its marginality, one of the most significant characteristics of the Czech far-right is its particularism. There are dozens of movements, some of them are

⁹¹ “2009 EP elections – final results” *Czech statistical office* [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.volby.cz/pls/ep2009/ep11?xjazyk=CZ>

⁹² “2010 Parliamentary elections – final results” *Czech statistical office* [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.volby.cz/pls/ps2010/ps2?xjazyk=CZ>

⁹³ “2012 Elections to the Senate and Regional Councils – Final Results” *Czech statistical office* [online], [date of quotation: 20 October 2012], available at: <http://www.volby.cz/pls/kz2012/kz62?xjazyk=CZ&xdatum=20121012>

⁹⁴ The reader can browse through the Czech election results in English at: http://www.volby.cz/index_en.htm [link verified on: 20 October 2012].

changing names whilst others exist only virtually. Strong particularism and mutual hostility prevent the Czech far-right from forming any alliance and many attempts, such as *Law and Justice*, *Nation's Five* (Národní pětka), *Conservative Coalition* (Konzervativní koalice) etc., failed in the end. For the time being, the Czech ultra-conservative scene is represented by several dozens of personalities whose calls promoting a return to a pre-modern Christianity fail to resonate in the Czech society, well-known for its “agnosticism” and its deep aversion to any sort of enforced religion. We could see manifestations of this trend in the streets recently: when the *Prague Pride* (a festival of sexual minorities) marched through the streets of Prague in August 2012, thousands of people joined in, while at the same time the ultra-conservatives, who had been mobilizing all their forces for weeks before the event, were able to gather about 50 people with banners like: “*Jesus will save you!*”.⁹⁵

One of the biggest mysteries of the contemporary Czech ultra-conservatism is the Czech President's relationship to such movements and ideas. The support from “the Castle”, as the Czechs use to say, is probably the only thing that prevents these movements from falling into complete obscurity. The Czech President expressed his admiration to Adam Bartoš⁹⁶ and antisemites like Michal Semín publish their articles on Václav Klaus's personal blog.⁹⁷ I do not know whether the President fully realizes the background of these people he publicly supports, and whether he is in any way concerned about

⁹⁵ “Pochod Prague Pride vyvolal protesty, policie zadržela sedm lidí” Česká televize, 18 August 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 13 October 2012], available at: <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ct24/domaci/192513-pochod-prague-pride-vyvolal-protesty-policie-zadrzela-sedm-lidi/>

⁹⁶ “Rozhovor prezidenta republiky pro Lidové noviny”, *Václav Klaus*, 18 December 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 20 October 2012], available at: <http://www.klaus.cz/clanky/2736>

⁹⁷ “Michal Semín: Lesk a bída homosexualismu”, *Václav Klaus*, 13 August 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 13 October 2012], available at: <http://www.klaus.cz/clanky/3161>

their antisemitic beliefs. There is no data, no statement that could prove it or deny it. It is important to stress that Václav Klaus has been supporting the Young Right since its birth, together with its most prominent adherents – Lukáš Petřík and Adam Bartoš. It is possible that Václav Klaus has not yet completely realized the full extent of the Young Right's transformation. In my opinion, the President is strongly attracted to anyone whose words, beliefs and ideas are capable of breaking public taboos, be it the real or the alleged ones. Admirable as this brave attitude may be, it positions the head of the Czech state into a very dangerous neighbourhood. For example, when the Czech minister of education Josef Dobeš appointed a former National Party's election leader Ladislav Bátora as his advisor in 2011, he met with a very strong criticism from the public and the media. Václav Klaus, however, supported Ladislav Bátora. It did not protect his protégé from a large public outcry that called for the removal of the antisemite from a public function of such importance, moreover when the position was related to education. Klaus probably wanted to become Bátora's Masaryk in his struggle against political correctness, just like Masaryk defended Leopold Hilsner⁹⁸ against the widespread antisemitism in his time. However, in his struggle for the freedom of speech, Václav Klaus failed to realize that he was publicly defending a notorious antisemite. The president later called the wave of criticism that followed "*a small Hilsner's affair*",⁹⁹ probably

⁹⁸ Leopold Hilsner was a young Jewish man, accused of the murder of Anežka Hrušková near the village of Polná in 1899. The subsequent blood-libel trial became known as the "Hilsner's affair". Its role in the modern Czech history was so important that it is sometimes compared to the Dreyfus affair. Hilsner was later pardoned by the emperor, but never acquitted. The real murderer remains unknown to this day. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk's defense of Hilsner (motivated by his rationalist beliefs rather than by any philosemitic inclinations) gained him an international reputation that probably helped him during his WWI negotiations about the establishment of Czechoslovak state.

⁹⁹ KLAUS, V.: "Malá česká hilsneriáda aneb další případ diktatury politické korektnosti", Václav Klaus, personal blog, 28 February 2011 [online], [date of quotation: 13 October 2012], available at: <http://www.klaus.cz/clanky/2781>,

unaware of the fact that he used the reference to the infamous 1899 antisemitic blood libel trial in order to defend a present-day notorious antisemite, well-known for his praise for the pamphlets of Rudolf Vrba (including the one about Hilsner).¹⁰⁰

*

The story of the Young Right can be read as a small chapter in the struggle of the Czech conservatives trying to find their own vision by means of experimenting with various ideas and influences from abroad. We can distinguish approximately three periods in the Young Right's history. It started as a neoconservative think-tank in 2004, continued its existence hand-in-hand with the Law and Justice and Free Citizens' Party, influenced by the Polish ultra-conservative Prawo i Sprawiedliwość between 2006 and 2009. Since 2010, it has been carrying out its current attempts to implement the Russian way¹⁰¹ of radical conservatism (the so-called "Kremlophillia", as the neoconservative Roman Joch, a former supporter of the movement, disappointed by these pro-Russian trends, put it on his blog, causing an outcry and a number of denunciations from his former comrades¹⁰²). However, the radicalism with which all these influences implemented, may be only obscuring the fact that the Czech conservative right actually lacks confidence and any real and stable vision of its own. Despite all the effort, it is incapable of becoming a

originally written for: *Právo*, 28 February 2011.

¹⁰⁰ See Bátorá's pamphlet, a compilation of quotes of historical Czech nationalist and fascist personalities, including the antisemitic ones: *Česká revue*, no. 5 (19 April 2007), p. 64 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://www.narmyslenka.cz/ceskarevue/REVUE5.pdf>

¹⁰¹ For more information about the Russian influences on the ideology of the Young Right and Czech ultra-conservatism, see Věra Tydlitátová's chapter in this book.

¹⁰² "Atentát to nebyl" blog.idnes.cz, 2 October 2012 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://joch.blog.idnes.cz/c/290407/Atentat-to-nebyl.html>

“Czech Tea Party”, as one of the Young Right’s co-founders put it.¹⁰³ Young Right’s search for a young, radical “new conservatism” (an oxymoron *sui generis*), or for a “Czech Thatcherism”, brought the movement into a cooperation with Catholic radicals gathered around the *D.O.S.T.* initiative and *St Joseph Institute* who helped to push the former philosemitic movement into explicitly antisemitic positions. As such, the transformation of the Young Right may be a secondary outcome of all the attempts to integrate the Czech Far Right.

The last stage of the transformation came about some time during 2010 and it cannot be fully extricated from the personal life-stories of its most prominent members. Some of the pro-Israeli movements failed to recognize the Young Right’s shift and especially in 2010 and 2011, one could witness a paradoxical situation when pro-Israeli and Christian Zionist websites advertised direct links to an explicitly antisemitic website. When warned, they promptly removed the links, but could and did not hide their profound surprise about such a quick and radical development.¹⁰⁴

The future development of the Czech ultra-conservative scene remains an open question, as the radical leftward shift of the Czech society, disappointed by the austere policy of the contemporary right-wing government, shuffled the cards for a brand new game. The presidential elections, planned for 2013, the first time when the president will not be elected by the parliament, but directly via plebiscite, may also change the rules of the game, as the current conservative president Václav Klaus cannot stand as a candidate in this particular election.

¹⁰³ Lukáš Petřík, one of the co-founders of the Young Right movement, spoke about the D.O.S.T. petition as about a “Czech Tea Party” and “Reagan’s New Right”, EUportal, 16 September 2010 [online], [date of quotation: 11 October 2012], available at: <http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz/Articles/6538-akce-d-o-s-t-reaganovska-nova-pravice-a-tea-party.aspx>

¹⁰⁴ Personal communication with the www.erez.cz and www.icej.cz representatives.

The Young Right's journey from philosemitism to antisemitism was completely independent of the Jews. It is not a story of philosemites who would become disappointed by the human character of the Jews. It is rather a story of philosemites, whose originally "positive prejudices" were transformed into "negative prejudices" under the influence of antisemites, as well as by a series of external coincidences. In a country where both philosemitism and antisemitism are able to exist without the Jews, a philosemite can become an antisemite without ever meeting the actual object of his former admiration and subsequent hatred.

References:

Pamphlets by the Czech and foreign far-right authors:

Dělnické listy [online], [date of quotation: 30 September 2012], available at: <http://www.delnickelisty.cz/archiv-tisku>

Česká Revue [online], [date of quotation: 30 September 2012], available at: <http://www.narmyslenka.cz/view.php?cislocclanku=2005112301>

ROTHKRANZ, J.: Kdo skutečně řídí islám. Sowulo press: Žďár nad Sázavou 2009

VOŘÍŠEK, J.: Pražský politický proces ve věci Týdeníku Politika. [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: http://vzdelavaci-institut.info/?q=system/files/Prazsky_politicky_proces_ve_veci_tydeniku_politika-Jaroslav_Vorisek.pdf

Websites of the Young Right:

<http://freeglobe.parlamentnilisty.cz>

<http://euportal.parlamentnilisty.cz>

<http://eportal.parlamentnilisty.cz>
<http://eurabia.parlamentnilisty.cz>
<http://euserver.parlamentnilisty.cz>
<http://www.cesky-portal.cz/>
<http://www.pravice.org>

Neo-Nazi websites:

<http://svobodnyodpor.info>
<http://svobodnamladez.org>
<http://vzdelavaci-institut.info>
<http://bratrstvi.net>
<http://www.odpor.org>

Other websites of the Czech far-right:

<http://www.narmyslenka.cz>
<http://www.natia.cz>
<http://www.akce-dost.cz>
<http://abbartos.wordpress.com/>
<http://www.dfens-cz.com>

(All links in this list were validated on 21 October 2012)

Literature:

- GOLDHAGEN, Daniel J.: *Hittler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Vintage Books 1997
- CHARVÁT, J. (2007): "Vývoj antisemitismu v rámci české krajní pravice po roce 1989" in *Kolokvium o soudobém antisemitismu*. Dryada: Plzeň 2007.
- CHARVÁT, J. (2007): *Současný politický extremismus a radikalismus*. Portál: Praha 2007.
- HÁLA, M.: "Strukturální a obsahová analýza serveru EUrabia"

- Migrace Online*. 27 June 2006 [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.migraceonline.cz/e-knihovna/?x=1957012>
- HOEDL, K.: "Islamophobia as a Source of Anti-Semitism in Austria" in Tydlitátová, V.; Hanzová, A.: *Anatomy of Hatred: Essays on Anti-Semitism*. Západočeská Univerzita v Plzni: Plzeň 2009, p. 60-70.
- PINK, M.; SMOLÍK, J.: "Komunální volby a krajně pravicové politické strany v České republice v roce 2006" in *Středoevropské politické studie* (1 / IX / winter 2007) [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012], available at: <http://www.cepsr.com/clanek.php?ID=293>
- RUBENSTEIN, Richard L.; Koth, John R.: *Approaches to Auschwitz*, London: SCM Press 1987
- STEM: "Vztah Čechů k Romům je stále převážně odmítavý" in *Informace z výzkumu STEM TRENDY* 2008, 5. května 2011, [date of quotation 22 August 2012], available at: <http://www.stem.cz/clanek/2195>, 1, 286 respondents older than 18 years of age.
- STEM: "Zmapování postojů veřejnosti v ČR k pravicově extremistickým, rasistickým a xenofobním myšlenkám a jejich šířitelům s ohledem na integraci menšin a cizinců", p. 57 [online], [date of quotation 22 August 2012], available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/soubor/zaverecna-zprava-z-vyzkumu.aspx>.
- TARANT, Z.: "Mladá Právce" in Tydlitátová, V (eds.): *Kolokvium o soudobém antisemitismu*. Dryada: Plzeň 2007, p. 85-92.
- TARANT, Z.: "Worker's Party - From Socialist Nationalism to National Socialism" in Tydlitátová, V; Hanzová, A. (eds.): *Anatomy of Hatred: Essays on Anti-Semitism*. Západočeská Univerzita v Plzni: Plzeň 2009, p. 84-102.
- "Zpráva o stavu antisemitismu za rok 2010". Fórum proti

antisemitismu [online], [date of quotation: 17 September 2012],
available at: <http://www.fzo.cz/wp-content/uploads/zpráva-2010.pdf>